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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kltā'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'karē'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you."

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

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to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ms'nanū'skup) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ms'nacū'cuk) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

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The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349]

After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

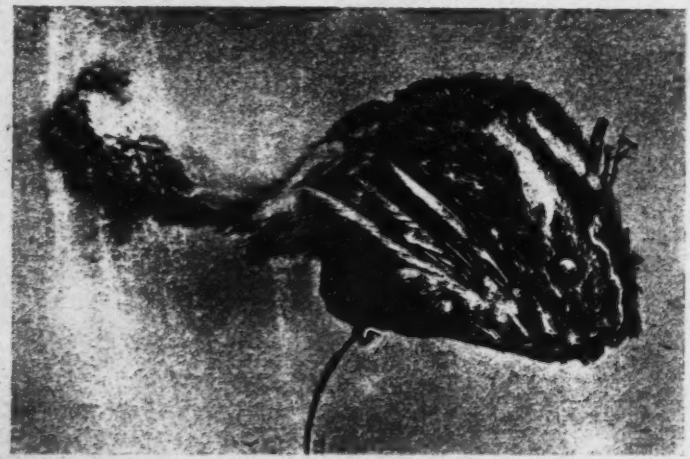

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for 575
his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned 432
two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, 292
and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be 608
worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new 575
members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either 431
individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to 602
distribute the gifts among themselves.

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately 575
followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as 527
the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second 535
rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. 533
The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words [177]
were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with 575
kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that [292]
each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that [302]
six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's 293
fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

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Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533

At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [841] 837 432 527 [782]

Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. *The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty* nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: —

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits."
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

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after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka·wara'ᵘaxs* (see p. 280).

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253.

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hā'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hā'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarise Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa Ā'ruxā'ke society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
●527 center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[537] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

The native name of this society is *i'he pei'here ō'xat'e*, or *sumā'k xarā'k ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

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While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

M H 575 127

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

M H [182]

"tawi^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'kehară makū'nista. nimā'mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

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In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ĭ'rara'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

M H 241

It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

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An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society.

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership.

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations.

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptĭ'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of themen was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

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NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. 535 They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 527 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. 292 All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). [778] A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *âtûre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

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the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

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Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 177 M H 575 561

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

M H 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

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on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her

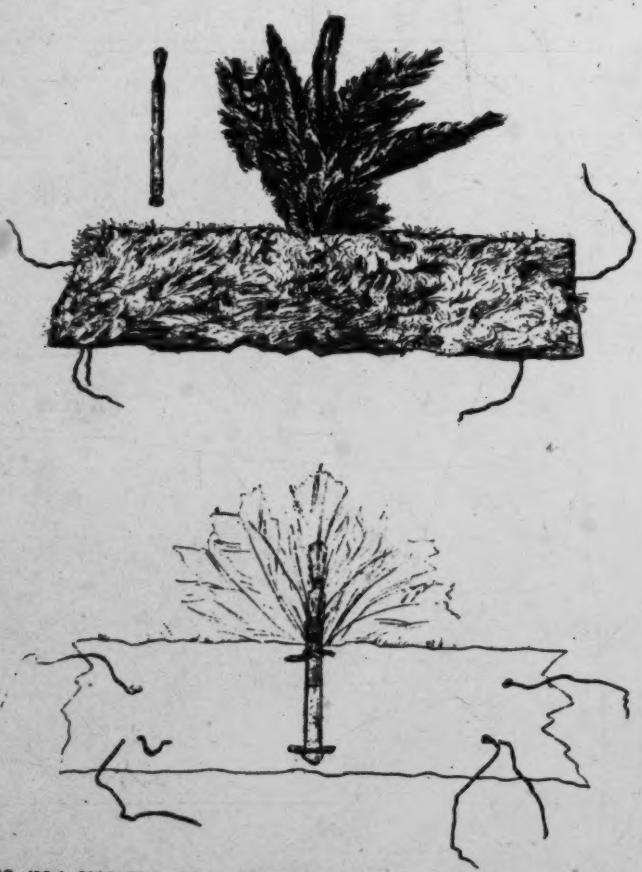

Fig. 18. (50.1–6020, 50.1–4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might